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Chinese Leadership After the 13th Party Congress

IRR No. 139 - December 17, 1987

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(U) Chinese Leadership After the 13th Party Congress

Intelligence Research Report

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Key Judgments

(U) In November 1987, the 13th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party elected a new group of leaders who likely will guide the People's Republic of China into the next decade—and into the post-Deng era. The personnel changes at the congress extended the process of leadership rejuvenation that has been under way since the late 1970s in the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the party's other top organs.

(LOU) Almost all of China's highest decisionmaking positions are now filled by younger reformers and middle-of-the-road technocrats. The average age of the Politburo dropped by more than seven years as a result of the party congress, and the percentage of Politburo members with at least some college-level education increased from slightly more than half to almost three-fourths. Because rejuvenation had been largely accomplished within the Central Committee by 1985, the average age of Central Committee members dropped only marginally, to 55. Almost three-fourths of the members and alternates have a college-level educational background.

(LOU) The new members of China's Politburo have a broad range of experience in China's highest priority sectors: energy, transportation, urban planning, finance, agriculture,



and high technology. Thirteen of the 18 Politburo members and alternates have extensive experience as top-level administrators in province-level units or central bureaucracies; seven have served in key slots at both levels. For the first time since before the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, four provinces have representatives on the Politburo. Moreover, for the first time in CCP history, the Politburo and the Secretariat contain no specialist in Marxist-Leninist dogma.

(LON) The number of members of the military on the Politburo is at a record low: only one career officer, along with the civilian Military Commission permanent vice chairman. Military representation within the Central Committee, however, increased slightly in percentage terms—from 16 percent to 18 percent—as a result of the reduction in the absolute size of the Central Committee. Military membership clearly reflects Deng Xiaoping's success in promoting a generation of younger professional officers.

(LON) Provincial officials accounted for almost 40 percent of the total membership of the Central Committee, about the same proportion as in the outgoing Central Committee. All 29 provincial-level party secretaries and 26 of 29 governors were elected members. In addition, representatives from 12 of the cities most involved in economic reforms were elected either full or alternate members.

(LOU) The proportion of Central Committee seats taken by central government officials (31 percent) increased slightly over the last Committee. Almost all top government officials not obviously slated for retirement were elected to full or alternate membership, including all five Vice Premiers and the heads of 32 ministry-level agencies.

(LOU) The vast majority of Central Committee positions can be considered "safe" seats; incumbents in a large number of top party, government, and military posts can expect almost automatic election. Expected retirements, overlap between holders of multiple positions, and the election of some of the more junior incumbents to alternate status resulted in the election of some 25-30 lower ranking officials or "token" representatives of educational, scientific, minority, or other special interest groups.



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The Politburo

- (U) Age. Members of the new Politburo are, on average, much younger than their immediate predecessors (see Table 1, appended). Among the 17 members and one alternate on the new Politburo, six are under 60 years of age, four are between 60 and 65, and only six are older than 70. Of the 24 full members and three alternates elected to the Politburo in 1982, only one was younger than 60, 15 were 70 or older, and four were older than 80. The average age of Politburo members and alternates dropped from 70.6 before the congress to 63.3 afterward, a decrease of 7.3 years, according to official Chinese statistics. The nine outgoing Politburo members averaged 78.7 years of age; the seven new members average 59.
- better educated than their predecessors. At least 13 of the 18 new members and alternates (72 percent) have some college-level education, although the experience of some was limited to makeshift "universities" at the party's war-time headquarters in Yanan or advanced political training in the Soviet Union before 1949. At least eight can claim fairly extensive regular post-secondary education. Among the members of the 1982 Polit-buro, only 13 of 27 (48 percent) seem to have had some college-level training and, of them, only a few had a regular college education. Of the 22 members and alternates of the outgoing Politburo, elected in 1985, 13 (55 percent) had some college background.
- (U) Background. The membership of the new Politburo clearly reflects China's future needs and priorities. Of the 18 members, 13 have experience as central and/or provincial economic administrators. Seven have served in key slots at both central and provincial levels. Experience in China's highest priority sectors—e.g., energy, transportation, agriculture, high technology—is also widespread within the new Politburo: Two members have served as Minister of Electronics, two have long backgrounds in the electric power industry, two in urban planning and construction, one in transportation, and two in finance. Moreover, Vice Premiers Wan Li and Li Peng

^{1/} The attached tables include changes in the membership of the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. Discussion of these changes, however, is not included.



have experience supervising transportation; and Wan, Vice Premier Tian Jiyun, and Sichuan party chief Yang Rudai all have extensive experience in agriculture.

- Four of the seven new members of the Politburo-and one new member of the streamlined Secretariat -- recently have led reform efforts in key provinces. The inclusion of provincial officials in the Politburo for the first time since Deng's return to power is both a resumption of the practice followed during the 1950s and an apparent effort better to represent China's increasingly diverse constituencies. remains to be seen, however, whether most or all of the new "provincial" members of the Politburo eventually will be transferred to Beijing. Shanghai party secretary and Mayor Jiang Zeming, for example, is rumored to be in line to head a new super-ministerial commission in charge of electronics and other high-technology industries. Tianjin secretary and Mayor Li Ruihuan has been widely rumored as a candidate for Vice Premier, although his recent statements suggest he expects to remain in Tianjin.
- (U) China's big east coast cities—where heavy industry-based economies have been stagnating for the past several years—gained several seats on the new Politburo. Shanghai's two top leaders—Jiang Zemin and recently relieved party secretary Rui Xingwen, who joined the Secretariat—were elected to top party positions, as was Li Ruihuan of Tianjin and Beijing's party secretary, Li Ximing. In addition, Politburo Standing Committee member Hu Qili, now in charge of propaganda and day-to-day party work, is a former mayor of Tianjin, and Wan Li served most of the 1950s and 1960s as vice mayor of Beijing.
- (U) Interior provinces also have powerful representation in the new leadership, although in most cases by leaders at least once removed from their provincial experience. Yang Rudai, party chief in Sichuan, is the only new Politburo member currently holding a position in an interior province. But Song Ping spent almost a decade in the top party post in Gansu; Wan Li pioneered agricultural reforms as governor and first secretary in Anhui during the late 1970s; Tian Jiyun had long experience in Guizhou and Sichuan; and General Secretary Zhao Ziyang made his career as a provincial administrator in Guangdong and Sichuan. Former General Secretary Hu Yaobang, closely associated with the interests of the less-developed interior, also served briefly as Shaanxi party chief before the Cultural Revolution.
- (¢) Planners. At least three members of the new Politburo can be termed "economic conservatives." Acting Premier Li Peng and Vice Premier Yao Yilin-both of whom joined the



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Politburo's Standing Committee—and former State Planning Commission Chairman Song Ping are thought to favor a slower pace and narrower scope for reform and seem to envision a continued strong role for central planning. All three have strong ties to party elder Chen Yun, the dean of Chinese economic conservatism, and espouse his doctrine of maintaining the "four balances" between aggregate social supply and demand, revenue and expenditure, bank loans and repayments, and foreign exchange income and spending.

(LOU) Ideologues. Perhaps the most notable difference between the new Politburo and the outgoing one is the absence of a specialist in Marxist-Leninist dogma in the current leader-ship. Party ideologue Hu Qiaomu retired from the Politburo; his Secretariat counterpart Deng Liqun failed to win reelection to the Central Committee. The relatively liberal Hu Qili will oversee the propaganda, ideology, and culture sectors.

- (U) Military. The military's representation on the Politburo has fallen to an all-time low. The only remaining professional officer is Gen. Qin Jiwei, commander of the Beijing Military Region. Yang Shangkun, the only octogenarian reelected to the Central Committee, was held over as a member of the Politburo and permanent vice chairman of the Military Commission.
- This reduction of military representation on the Politburo is a reflection of both the current emphasis on civilian economic priority and the success of Deng's decadelong campaign to return the Peoples Liberation Army to the barracks, reinforce the principle of civilian control, and make the PLA a more professional, less "political" institution. The military's role in political decisionmaking will remain limited. But the promotion of younger professional officers to top command and staff positions and the limited military background of the new civilian members of the Politburo likely will give military leaders considerable influence on issues of direct interest to the PLA.

The Standing Committee

- (U) Only Zhao Ziyang remains from the previous Politburo Standing Committee. Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, and President Li Xiannian have retired, and Hu Yaobang--ousted as General Secretary in January 1987--was demoted to regular membership. The average age of the five members of the new Standing Committee is 63.6, down from an average of 76.6 for their predecessors.
- (C) The political balance on the new five-man Standing Committee is closer than on the full Politburo, with Zhao and

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Hu Qili believed to be the strongest supporters of fundamental, systemic reform, Li Peng and Yao Yilin more cautious, and Qiao Shi--in charge of security affairs--the swing vote. Qiao has a reputation as cautious, judicious, and fair, favorable to reform but sensitive to the hazards inherent in its implementation.

(U) The role of the Standing Committee has also been redefined. According to changes in the party constitution introduced at the congress, the Standing Committee will report more often to the full Politburo which, in turn, will become the principal locus of policymaking.

(LOU) Moreover, the individual responsibilities of the members of the Standing Committee have been more explicitly defined than previously. Zhao will "grasp overall work," reportedly including overseeing Li Peng's performance as Premier and keeping a strong hand in the formulation and implementation of economic reform policy. Li Peng, as acting Premier, will handle State Council affairs. Qiao Shi is in charge of "political and legal" matters—a euphemism for security—related work. Hu Qili is in charge of propaganda and intraparty business, and Yao Yilin will oversee the economy.

(boll) The Secretariat

In effect, the Standing Committee has taken over from the Secretariat as the place where party and government affairs are coordinated and where macro-policy is noned before being turned over to specific bureaucracies for implementation. The size of the Secretariat has been dramatically reduced; it is now composed of four full members and one alternate—compared with 10 members before the congress. It will handle only the party's internal affairs, including personnel matters. Hu Yaobang was accused of using the Secretariat as a personal power base, usurping power by shifting decisionmaking authority from other organs into his bailiwick.

The Central Committee

(U) In an effort to streamline the Central Committee and make it a more meaningful decisionmaking body, the 13th party congress reduced its size from 210 members and 138 alternates to 175 full members and 110 alternates (see Table 2), and announced plans for it to meet more often than its current yearly schedule. Only about half (54 percent) of the members of the 12th Central Committee were reelected, but those 114 constitute 65 percent of the new, smaller body. In addition, 22 persons—16 percent of the old alternates—were promoted to full membership, and 39 new members (22 percent of the total) were added. (See Table 3.)



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(U) Fewer new members were added to the 13th Central Committee than to the 12th, elected in 1982, but about half of the holdovers from the 12th were added by the 1985 special representative conference. In all, only about one-third of the members elected in 1982 remain on the Central Committee.

(DOU) The procedures by which nominees are chosen for the Central Committee remain a mystery. According to a number of accounts, Zhao Ziyang, party elder Bo Yibo, and several other leaders were in charge of compiling a name list for examination by the top leadership at this summer's meetings at Beidaihe. Song Ping's Central Committee General Office, the repository of personnel dossiers for high-ranking party members, likely also was involved.

(LOU) Whatever the exact procedure, there appears to be a large number of relatively "safe" seats, official positions in the party, government, and military which are almost automatically assured a place in the Central Committee or, at the least, an alternate membership. Naturally, all candidates for the Politburo and the Secretariat are assured a Central Committee seat. At this congress, they total 21 persons. All 29 provincial party secretaries are certain to be elected—at this congress, three provincial secretaries were also elected to the Politburo—as are almost all provincial governors. Heads of such key central party offices as the general office, international liaison department, united front work department, and propaganda department all are almost automatically included in the Central Committee.

(LOU) Unless slated for retirement in the near future, incumbent Vice Premiers, State Councilors, State Commission chairmen, or Ministers presumably also are elected Central Committee members. The total number of such positions exceeds 50. In addition, top state officials and officers of the National People's Congress who are not on the retirement list can expect election to the Central Committee. Perhaps five or six such positions are involved. In the PLA, the head and principal deputy from the General Staff and from the Political and Logistics Departments; the commander and political commissar of the Air Force, Navy, and Second Artillery (strategic rocket forces); and the commanders and political commissars of the seven military regions and three Navy fleets all normally would receive seats on the Central Committee.

(LOU) Added together, these "safe" seats constitute the vast majority--if not the total--of the 175 Central Committee seats actually awarded. Expected retirements, some overlap between holders of offices, and the inclusion of some of the more junior occupants of these key positions as alternate



members, however, result in a "surplus" of perhaps 25-30 seats which can be allocated to worthy lower ranking functionaries, officials slated for promotion to replace designated retirees, or "tokens" from cultural, academic, scientific, minority, municipal, or other special interest groups.

- (U) Age. Because Deng's efforts to rejuvenate the Central Committee had achieved significant progress at the 12th party congress in 1982 and at the special conference of party representatives in 1985, average ages in the new Central Committee are not much lower than they were then, and members of the 13th congress will, on average, actually be slightly older than their predecessors when the 14th Central Committee is elected in 1992. The results of the new Central Committee election can be said to represent more a "deossification" of the leadership than a rejuvenation.
- (U) According to official Chinese statistics, the average age of the 285 members and alternates is 55.2, down 3.9 years from the average age of those elected in 1982. Those under the age of 55 account for 132 members and alternates, or 46.3 percent of the total, a 19.5-percent increase over the previous Central Committee. Those 61 or older number 57, accounting for one-fifth of the total, reportedly a 29.1-percent decrease from the outgoing Central Committee.
- (U) Full members of the Central Committee average about 58, a marginal reduction from the average age of 59.6 for their predecessors. An examination of the average ages of retirees, retainees, and newly promoted members, however, suggests a more significant generational shift. The 95 members who stepped down averaged 67.9 years of age, while the 114 retained members average 60.4. Newly added members, however, average 55.9. Only one octogenarian remains in the Central Committee (Yang Shangkun), and only nine members are between 70 and 79 years of age (see Table 4).
- (LOU) Education. Almost three-fourths of the members and alternates of the new Central Committee (209 of 285) have a college-level educational background, according to official statistics, representing an increase of 17.9 percent over the previous Central Committee. Fifty-seven of these are said to have advanced professional titles or degrees. Available data for full members suggests that at least 100, or almost 60 percent, have attended college and that about 25 (roughly 15 percent) almost certainly did not. Another 15-20 (or about 10 percent) likely received some post-secondary schooling. The educational backgrounds of the remainder are unknown. Overall, full members appear to be slightly older and slightly less likely to have attended college than alternates.

- (U) Composition. Representation of various sectors did not change significantly from the 12th to the 13th Central Committee, despite the reduction in the number of seats (see Table 5). Central party cadres retained about 10 percent of the full Central Committee membership; central government employees continue to hold just less than one-third of the seats; and provincial officials kept almost 40 percent of the slots. Military officers increased their percentage of full Central Committee memberships slightly over their 1985 allotment--from 16 percent to 17 percent--but hold notably less than the 22 percent of full memberships they occupied in 1982.
- (U) Provincial representation. Officials at or below the provincial level hold 114 of the 285 full and alternate memberships in the 13th Central Committee, or 40 percent of the total (see Table 6). All 29 provincial party secretaries—plus the party secretary of Hainan, expected to become a province in early 1988—were elected to full membership. Three governors—Wei Chunshu of Guangxi, Xie Feng of Hebei, and Song Ruixiang of Qinghai—were not elected as either full or alternate members. Two governors—Jia Zhijie of Gansu and He Zhiqiang of Yunnan—achieved only alternate status. The other 24 governors, including the mayors of the three provincial—level cities, were elected to full membership.
- (U) Of the 116 members and alternates elected from the provincial level or below, 70 are primarily party cadres and 41 primarily government officials. Three hold both the top party and government position in their province. Twenty of the 116 are prefectural or municipal officials. Within this group are key officials from important centers for economic experimentation and testing of new reforms, including the party secretaries of Harbin, Shenyang, Xuzhou, and Changzhou, the mayor of Guangzhou, and a vice mayor of Chongqing.
- (LOU) Government representation. Almost all top government officials not obviously slated for retirement within the next year became either full or alternate members in the Central Committee. President Li Xiannian—who stepped down from the Central Committee as well as the Politburo and its Standing Committee—and Vice President Ulanhu—who retired from the Central Committee and Politburo in 1985—are both expected to be replaced at the March 1988 first session of the 7th National People's Congress. State Councilors Fang Yi, Gu Mu, Ji Pengfei, Kang Shien, Zhang Aiping, and Zhang Jingfu—all slated for retirement—were not elected to the Central Committee.
- (U) Elected to full membership were the 32 of 44 ministry-level agency chiefs, including Li Tieying, who concurrently holds two ministry-level positions. Four ministers

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were elected to alternate status: the Ministers of Commerce, Liu Yi; Forestry, Gao Dezhan; Light Industry, Zeng Xianlin; and Public Health, Chen Minzhang. Eight minister-level government officials--most near or past retirement age--were not elected to either full or alternate membership. They are: Chairman of the State Economic Commission Lu Dong; Chairman of the State Family Planning Commission Wang Wei; and Ministers of Aeronautics, Mo Wenxiang; Space, Li Xu'e; Justice, Zou Yu; National Defense, Zhang Aiping; Public Security, Wang Fang; and Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection, Ye Rutang.

- (EQII) Military representation. Fifty-two military officers were elected either full (29) or alternate (23) members of the new Central Committee. Of them, 19 are central-level cadres and 32 are officers at or below the regional, district, or group army level. The exact position of one is unknown. Three-fourths (39 of 52) of the military cadres on the Central Committee hold line or staff positions, while only 12 are political commissars or lower level political officers. Nineteen of 29 full members (66 percent) are commanders or staff officers, and only 10 (34 percent) are political cadres. The proportion of commanders and staff is far higher among alternates: 20 of 22 (91 percent) of those for whom positions are known.
- (c) Five of the seven military region commanders were elected full members. The other two--You Taizhong of the Guangzhou Region and Xiang Shouzhi of the Nanjing Region-- apparently are slated to retire soon. Younger commanders obviously are being groomed. Fully one-third of the group army commanders won either full membership (2) or alternate status (6) in the new Central Committee.
- (U) Other. Educational, scientific, and technical specialists received the majority of the 17 seats not otherwise classified. Women hold 10 of the 175 full memberships in the Central Committee--at 5.7 percent, the same proportion as in the previous committee--but no longer are represented in either the Politburo or the Secretariat. This is the first time since 1969 that no woman has held a Politburo seat. Ethnic minorities account for 16 of 175 full memberships (9.1 percent), a marginal increase in absolute numbers over the 14 minority representatives in the 12th Central Committee but a more significant increase over their 6.7-percent share of seats.

Prepared by Christopher M. Clarke 647-1343

Approved by Richard A. Clarke 647-2402



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Appendix Notes

- (f) indicates a female.
- R = returned.
- P = promoted from alternate to full membership.
- N new.
- D = demoted from full to alternate membership.
- govt = central government cadre.
- CCP = central party cadre.
- prov/govt = government cadre at or below provincial level.
- PLA = military official.
- C = some college-level education, not necessarily a graduate.
- P = probably has some college-level education.
- N = known or strongly presumed not to have any college-level education.
- MR = Military Region.
- MD = Military District.

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Table 1.	

Standing Committee (rank order)

Zhao Ziyang Li Peng Qiao Shi Hu Qili Yao Yilin

Other Positions	Standing Committee; Secretariat none	Standing Committees Action Parish	Secretary and mayor, Tianiin	Chairman, Restructuring Commission; Minister,	Electronics Industry	Secretary, Beljing	Standing Committee; Secretariat; Vice Premier:	Discipline Inspection Commission	Commander, Beliing Military Region	Director, CCP Organization Department	Vice Premier	Vice Premier	State Councilor: Minister, Porejon Affair.	Secretary, Sichuan	Permanent Vice Chairman, Military Commission	Standing Committee; Vice Premier: Chairman.	State Planning Commission	Standing Committee; General Secretary; First	Vice Chairman, Military Commission			Minister, Railroads
Education	ပပ	ပပ	υ U	ပ	(ن	Z		Z	Z	Z	ပ	ပ	z	ပ	ပ		Z	•		c	ပ
Year of Birth	1929 1915	1926 1928	1935	1936		1920	1924		1914	1917	1929	1916	1921	1924	1907	1917		1919			1030	1930
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Members (stroke order)	Hu Q111 Hu Yaobang	Jiang Zemin Li Peng	Li Ruihuan	Li Tieying	Lit Windan	THE VIETTING	(lao sni		Qin Jiwei	Song Ping	Tian Jiyun	Wan L1	Wu Xueqian	Yang Rudai	Yang Shangkun	Yao Yilin	i	Zhao Ziyang	•	Alternate	Dine Gransen	חדווף אחמוואבוו

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Secretariat (rank order)	Status	Year of Birth	Education	Other Positions
Hu Q111	see above			
Qiao Shi	see above			
Rui Xingwen	z	1926	ပ	none
Yan Mingfu	z	1931	· 64	Director, CCP United Front Work Department
Alternate				
Wen Jiabo	z	1942	Ы	Director, CCP General Office

175 Full Members

Table 2. 13th CENTRAL COMMITTEE, NOVEMBER 1987

Positions	Minister, Radio, Television, and Cinema Chairman, Ningxia government Vice Chairman, Restructuring Commission Chairman, Inner Mongolia government Vice Minister, Justice	Secretary, Fujian Secretary, Guangxi Secretary General, State Council President, People's Bank of China Mayor, Beijing	Secretary, Changzhou Acting Governor, Henan Chief of PLA General Staff Director, General Logistics Department Minister, Civil Affairs	Minister of Railroads; Politburo Minister, NDSTIC2/ Chairman, Xizang government Secretary, Xian Vice Chairman, State Planning Commission,	Commander, Chengdu MR Secretary, Jilin Commander, Xinjiang MD
•	Min Cha Vic Cha	Sec. Sec. Pre.	Sec: Act: Chic Dire	Min Min Cha Sec	Com Com
Year of Birth	1929 1941 1932 1926 1926	1933 1939 1927 1920 1930	19397 19337 1929 · 1926 1929	1930 1931 1940? 1933? 1930?	19327 1927 1930
Category	govt prov/govt govt prov/govt govt	prov/CCP prov/CCP govt govt prov/govt	prov/CCP prov/govt PLA PLA govt	govt govt prov/govt prov/govt govt	PLA prov/CCP PLA
Education	0 4 0 0 4		Ouzoo	O O e e b	z o a
Status	AKKKK	~~~~	****	克克阿伊克	2 2 2
Маше	Ai Zhisheng Bai Lichen Bao Tong Bu He Cai Cheng	Chen Guangyl Chen Huiguang Chen Junsheng Chen Muhua (f) Chen Xitong	Chen Yuying (f) Cheng Weigao Chi Haotian Cho Nam Q1 <u>1</u> /	Ding Guangen Ding Henggao Doje Cering Dong Jichang Fang Weizhong	Fu Quanyou Gao D1 Gao Huanchang

Cho Nam Qi aka Zhao Nanqi.

NDSTIC is the National Defense Science, Technology, and Industry Commission. NDSTIC personnel have been counted in these tabulations as government cadres, although a good case could be

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made that they should be counted as military personnel.

Li Dek Su aka Li Dezhu. W141V1

Qin Jiwei is expected to be appointed Minister of Defense. ACFTU is the All China Federation of Trade Unions.

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Vice Governor, Sichuan Governor, Jiangau Secretary, Hubei Deputy Director, Xinhua News Agency Governor, Hubei Secretary, Jiangau Vice Chairman, State Planning Commission Deputy Director, CCP Propaganda Department Minister, Agriculture, Forestry, and Anima Husbandry Governor, Heilongjiang Acting Governor, Shaanxi Secretary, Guizhou Vice Ghairman, State Economic Commission Secretarist; Politburo Standing Committee Politburo N.A. Chairman, State Nationalities Affairs Commission Minister, State Security Acting Governor, Shandong Gowernor, Sichuan Minister, Nuclear Industry Secretary and Mayor, Shanghai Head, Dazhong-Tai Autonomous Zhou, Yunnan Political Commissar of a group army, Guangzhou MR	19347 1936 1931 1923 1921 1923 1924 1924 1932 1930 1930 1930 1930 1930 1930 1930 1930	prov/govt prov/CCP govt prov/CCP govt CCP govt prov/govt prov/govt prov/govt prov/cCP govt CCP CCP govt CCP govt CCP govt CCP govt prov/govt	«X OH«XO OOO OX «OOOO XX O«« OOOX«	尺束 死时初我死 段我我 我我 对我我我我 我我 我对尹 我我我我对
Guangzhou MR				
Political Commissar of a grou	1937?	PLA	~	
Head, Dazhong-Tai Autonomous	19327	prov/CCP	Z	
Secretary and Mayor, Shanghai	1926	prov	ပ	
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Commander, Xizang MD	1932	PLA	2	
Acting Governor, Shandong	1930	prov/govt	~	
Minister, State Security	1938	govr	، د	
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Heilongjiang	1931	prov/govt	z	
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Minister, Agriculture, Forestry,	1923	govt	ပ	
Deputy Director, CCP Propaganda 1	1924	CCP	ပ	
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Secretary, Jiangsu	1921	prov/CCP	Z	
Governor, Hubei	1933	prov/govr	- 5	
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Secretary, Hubel	1931	prov/CCP	ပ	
GOVETHUT, JIANGBU	7770	710912	•	
Governor Hansen	1936	prov/govt	· z	
Vice Governor, Stehman	1934?	prov/govt	<i>~</i>	

Ifnan MR		Physical Culture and Sports		:; Politburo Standing Committee		Secretary, Tlaniin: Polithuro	Restricturing Commission.	Minister, Electronics: Polithuro	Beiting: Polithuro	Guanox1 MD	2nd Artillery	Shenvano	Canal	Shandong	Academy of Sciences. Bloohysica	inese Affa	Federation of Taiwan Compatriate		Debuty Political Commissar Changelon to	acar) coangrilon	Deputy. Sacretary, Guizhou	omissar. Shenvano wa	andone andone	r General	or Applit	nt, ACFTU4/	. ueu	116	Hanito	18t Sea Fleet DLA Navy	Vice Chairman, National People's Congress		Minister, Metallurgical Industry
Commander		Chairman, Ph	Commission			Mavor and Se	Chairman. Re	Minister,	Secretary, B			Secretary, S			Director, Aca		President. F		Deputy Polity	Commander, Shenvane MR	Deputy. Sacret	Political Commissar.	Deputy Serret	State Anditor General	Acting Govern	Vice President, ACFTU4	Secretary, Hunan	Chairman, ACFTII	Vice Mayor, Tlaniin	Commander, East	Vice Chairman	Secretary Vinnan	Minister, Met
1929	1925	1922	1	1928	1937?	1935	1936		1926	1936	1927	19297	19222	1922	1932	1941	1933	1924	19327	1933	1931	1922?	1929	1928	1933	1936	1930	1932	1928	1929	1915	1929	1929
PLA	prov/CCP	govt		govt	PLA	prov	govt	1	prov/CCP	PLA	PLA	prov/CCP	prov/CCP	prov/CCP	other	govt	other	prov/CCP	PLA	PLA	prov/CCP	PLA	prov/CCP	govt	prov/govt	other	prov/CCP	other	prov/govt	PLA	govt	prov/CCP	govt
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Li Jiulong		L1 Menghua	T 4 Done		L1 Vlanyuan		L1 Tieying				L1 Xuge		Li Ziqi	Liang Buting	Liang Dongcai	Liao Hui	Lin Liyun (f)	Lin Ruo			Liu Zhengwei	Liu Zhenhua	Lu Maozeng	Lu Peijian	Lu Rongjing	Luo Gan	Mao Zhiyong	Ni Zhifu	Nie Bichu	Nie Kuiju	Peng Chong	Pu Chaozhu	. Qi Yuanjing

- VII -

Qian Otchen R C CCPP 1922 Battor in Chiefe, Esopie's Daily Qian Yongchang R C govt 1923 Witch Huister, Porelign Affairs Qian Yongchang R C govt 1923 Hinister, Onmanications Qian Shi R C CCP/govt 1924 Vice President; Polaram, Discipline Qin Jiwal R C CCP/govt 1924 Vice President; Constraint Qin Jiwal R C CCP/govt 1924 Vice President; Distance Quan Shuren P R Prov/cop 1932 Secretary, Lisoning Ren Jianxin R C Govt 1925 Secretary, Lisoning Ren Jianxin R C Govt 1925 Secretary, Lisoning Ren Jianxin R C Govt 1923 Secretary, Lisoning Shen Daren R C Govt 1925 Secretary, Lisoning Shen Daren R C Govt 1932 Secre																							•										•					
Litren R C GCP Qichen R C govt Zhengying (f) R C govt Shi R C GCP/govt Jiwei R C CCP/govt Jiwei R C CCP/govt Jiwei R C CCP/govt Jiwei R C CCP/govt Shuren P R C CCP/govt Jiwei R C GCP/govt CCP/govt Chongwu R C GCP CCP Chongwu R C GCP CCP Chongwu R C Govt CCP Chongwu R C GCP CCP Chongwu R C CCP CCP Lingwen R C CCP CCP Jian R C CCP CCP Jian R C CCP	Editor in Chief, People's Daily	Vice Minister, Foreign Affairs	Minister, Communications	Minister, Water Resources and	Electric Power Vice Premier: Chairman, Discipline	Commission; Politburg Standing Committee	Commander, Beliing MR5/; Politburo	Minister, Chemical Industry	Secretary, Liaoning		Conference		Chairman, Science		Secretariat	an, National People's		Secretary, Minking	Vice Governor, Zhejiang	tical Commissar, Nanjing	Secretary, Communist Youth League	Secretary, Xinjiang				Secretary Hollone Hand	Were cary, metroughtang	vice fremier; rollcouro	Chairman, Xinjiang government	Vice Premier; Politburo	Secretary, Jiangsu	Minister, Finance		mander, Nanjing	Commander, PLA Air Force			CONSTRUCT.
Liren R C Qichen R C C Shengying (f) R C C Shi	1922	1928	1933	1923	1924	•	1914	1923	1930	1931		1925	1933		1926	1916	1032	7007	19392	19327	1946	1934	1031	1731	1917	1929	1020	1727	1925	1916	1931	1925	1921	19337	1926	1925	1	
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	Olan Liren	Wian Wichen	Qian Yongchang	Zhengying	Qiao Shi	;	Qin Jiwei	Qin Zhongda	Quan Shuren	Raidi	•	Ren Jianxin	Ruan Chongwu		Rui Xingwen	Seypidin Aze	Shen Daren	Chen 71	Snen Zulun	Shi Yuxiao	Song Defu	Song Hanllang	Sone Itan	South Dates	Song Fing	Sun Weiben	Ttan Itvin	יייי אייייי איייייי	Iomur Dawamat	Wan L1	Wan Shaofen (f)	Wang Bingqian			Wang Haf,	Wang Hanbin		

- VIII -

Vang Healin N 7 prov/CCP 1930 Secretary, Talyann Vang Heng R 7 prov/CCP 1926 Secretary, Inner Mongolia Vang Renzhi R 7 CCF 1934 Director, CCP Propagnda Department Wang Ruilin R 7 CCF 1937 Vice Chairman, Maticial People's Congress Wang Senbao R 7 CCV 1920 Overnor, Shari Wang Senbao R 7 CVV 1937 Wildster, Petroleum Wang Senbao R 7 CVV 1940 Governor, Fulian Wal Jinshan R 7 CCP 1942 Director, CCP General Office; Secretariat Wu Jinghua R 7 CCP 1942 Director, CCP General Office; Secretariat Wu Jinghua R 7 CCP 1942 Director, CCP General Office; Secretariat Wu Jinghua R 7 CCP 1942 Director, CCP General Office; Secretariat Wu Jinghua R 7 CCP<		•																															
Haolin		,	•	Director, CCP Propaganda Denartment	Vice Chairman, National People's Congress	N.A. (former Deputy Director, CCP General					Denity Dolleton Commission DIA Name	Director, CCP General Office; Secretariat	alternate	Governor, Jiangxi	Secretary, Xizang	, H	Beitine	Textiles		Secretary, Guangzhou	Fudan	Hebet			Preparatory Committee for Hainan Province	and Governor, Zheilane		Director, PLA General Political Department	Deputy Director, CCP General Office	Vice Chairman, National People's Congress	Secretary, Sichuan: Polithuro	Vice Chairman, Military Commission;	Politburo
Maolin	1930	1934	1926 ·	1934	1917	1929	1933	1932	1940	1931	1927	1942		1939	1931	1939	1920	1932	1921	1932	1920	1927	1932	1932	1920	1922	1931	1921	1922	1918	1924	1907	
Maolin N Meng R Qun R Renzhu R Ruilin N Senhao R Jianxing R Jianshan Jiabo N Inghua R Reiran Reiran	prov/CCP	govt	prov/CCP	CCF	govt	CCP	prov/govt	govt	Drov/govt	POVE	PI.A	CCP	,	prov/govt	prov/CCP	govt	other	govt	govt	prov/CCP	other	prov/CCP	prov/govt	PLA	prov/CCP	prov	CCP	PLA	CCP	govt	prov/CCP	PLA	
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	Wang Maolin	Wang Meng	Wang Qun		Wang Renzhong	Wang Ruilin	Wang Senhao	Wang Tao	Wang Zhaoguo		Wel Jinshan	Wen Jiabo	•	Wu Guanzheng			Wu Weiran	Wenying		Xie Fei	X1e X1de (f)	Xing Chongzhi	Xiong Qingquan	Xu Huizi	Xu Shijie	Xue Ju	Yan Mingfu	Yang Baibing	Yang Dezhong	Yang Jingren	Yang Rudai		

- IX -

Yang Taifang	æ	ပ	govt	1927	Minister, Posts and Telecommunications
Yang Xizong	~	ပ	prov/CCP	1926	_
Yang Zhengwu	æ	~	prov/CCP	. 19322	Member Himmon COO remains
Yao Yilin	~	ບ	govt	1917	Dolthur Cterio
Ye Xuanping	~	ပ	prov/govt	•	Governor Chardens
Yin Kesheng	ద	ပ	prov/CCP		Serretery Offshal
Yu Hong'en	~	U	govt	1928	
Yu Yongbo	z	~	PLA	19322	
Yuan Weimin	a	щ	govt	1939	Vice Chairman, Physical Culture and Snorts
Zhang Boxing	z	٥	900/5024	000	Tun Dung Tung Tung Tung Tung Tung Tung Tung T
Zhang Guoving (f)	: œ) Δ	prov. cor	1930	Shaanxi
Shou	: œ	, ບ	govt	1930	Secretary, Women's Federation Vice Chairman, State Planning Commission
Zhang Zhongxian	۵.	٠,	PTA	1006	
Zhao Dongwan	ı Δı	. c	oout oout	1926	
Zhao Fulin	Z	· ~	prov/CCP	19297	Serretary Hubel Discipline Income
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Zhao Xianshun	~	ပ	PLA	1925	Commander Lanahan Ma
Zhao Ziyang	ፚ	z	CCP	1919	
Zhao Zongnai	<u>с</u>	ပ	CCP	1928	Deputy Secretary, Party Committee for
Sheng Tuchin	۵	Ç	4	•	Organs
1170DT 9:::::	4	د	Bovt	1924	Minister, Foreign Trade and Economic
Zhou Guangzhao	~	ပ	govt	1929	President, Chinese Academy of Solonon
Zhou Keyu	∝	ပ	PLA	1929	Deputy Director, PLA General Political
Zhou Yibing	Z	a	DT.A	1031	:
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.Zhu Guang	z	<i>~</i>	PLA	1920	Political Commissar Dia Air Borso
Zhu Guangya	x	ပ	govt	1913	
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guarn nuz		٠.	CCP	1924	Director, CCP International Liaison
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Zon 14 ober	= :	י כי	govt	1931	Minister, Geology and Minerals
zou Jaanua	*	ပ	govt	1925	Machine
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Members	
Alternate	
B. 110	

Positions

Category

Status

Secretary, Yanan Prefecture Chairman, Inner Mongolia People's Congress Vice Governor, Hunan Vice Governor; Fujian Minister, Public Health	Commander, 13th Group Army, Chengdu MR Member, Liaoning CCP Standing Committee Member, CCP Standing Committee, Hebei Secretary, Shanghai CCP Science and Technology Work Group Hember, Xizang CCP Standing Committee	Member, Jiangsu CCP Committee Deputy Secretary, Guizhou Deputy Commander, Lanzhou MR Deputy Secretary, Anhui Secretary, Guolo Tibetan Autonomous Zhou, Qinghai	Minister, Forestry Chairman, S&T Committee, Ministry of Aviation Secretary, Ningbo Director, Shanghai Petrochemical Complex Deputy Commander, Jinan MR	Deputy editor, People's Daily Ambassador to the United States Commander, 23rd Army, Chenyang MR Vice Chairman, Machine Building Industry Commission Secretary, Jinan	Deputy Chief of Staff, PLA Governor, Yunnan Deputy Secretary, Henan Vice Mayor, Shanghai Deputy Secretary, Xinjiang
prov/CCP prov/govt prov/govt prov/govt govt	PLA prov/CCP prov/CCP prov/CCP	prov/CCP prov/CCP PLA prov/CCP prov/CCP	govt govt prov/CCP other PLA	CCP govt PLA govt prov/CCP	PLA prov/govt prov/CCP prov/govt prov/CCP
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Bai Enpei Batubagen Chen Bangzhu Chen Mingyi Chen Mingzhang	Chen Shijun Chen Suzhi (f) Chen Yujie (f) Chen Zhili (f)	Deng Hongxun Ding Tingmo Dong Zhanlin Fu Xishou Gaisang Doje	Gao Dezhan Gao Zhenning Ge Hongsheng Gu Chuanxun Gu Hui	Gui Shiyong Han Xu He Daoquan He Guangyuan He Guoqiang	He Qizong He Zhiqiang Hu Xiaoyun Huang Ju Janabil

- XI -

Governor, Gansu Vice Minister, Aviation Industry Chairman, Beijing Youth Federation; Deputy 'Secretary, Beijing	President, Áll-China Youth Federation Member, Tianjin CCP Standing Committee	Vice Minister, Foreign Economic Relations and Trade Vice Minister, Metallurgy (?) Vice Minister, Railroads Secretary, Urumqi Deputy Director, CCP International Liaison Department	Deputy Secretary, Guangxi Commander, unidentified group army Deputy Director, PLA General Hospital Vice Minister, Chemical Industry Deputy Secretary, Jiangxi	Deputy Secretary, Ningxla Economist, Academy of Social Sciences Vice President, People's Bank of China Director, Hebei CCP Organization Department Minister, Commerce	Vice Governor, Henan Director, Shanxi CCP Organization Department Vice President, Zhejiang University Deputy Director, Beijing Institute of Control and Electronic Technology Vice Governor, Guizhou	Vice Governor, Ningxia Adviser, Ministry of Forestry Vice Governor, Shandong Commander, 7th Air Force, Nanning Spokesman, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
prov/govt govt prov/CCP	other prov/CCP	govt govt prov/CCP CCP	prov/CCP ·PLA PLA govt prov/CCP	prov/CCP govt govt . prov/CCP govt	prov/govt prov/CCP other other prov/govt	prov/govt . govt govt PLA govt
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Jia Zhijie Jiang Xiesheng Jin Jian	Keyum Bawudun Li Huifen (f)	Li Lanqing Li Ming Li Senmao Li Shoushan Li Shuzheng (f)	Li Zhenqiao Liang Guanglie Liao Wenhai (f) Lin Yincai Liu Fangren	Liu Guofan Liu Guoguang Liu Hongru Liu Ronghui	Liu Yujie (f) Lu Gongxun Lu Yongxiang Luan Enjie Luo Shangcai	Ma Sizhong Ma Yuhai Ma Zhongchen Peng Gongge Qi Huaiyuan

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Commander, 27th Army, Beijing MR Unidentified position, NDSTIC Commander 47th Army, Lanzhou MR Deputy Director, Xinhua, Hong Kong Director, Labor and Personnel Office, Inner Mongolia	Vice President, Beijing University Vice Minister, Water Resources and Electric Power Deputy Political Commissar, Shenyang MR Secretary, Xuzhou Deputy Secretary, Liaoning	Vice Mayor, Chongqing Director, Hunan CCP Organization Department Member, Beijing CCP Standing Committee Vice President, Xiamen University Secretary, Beijing University CCP Committee	Director, Hainan Commissioner's Office Chief Geologist, Daqing Oil Field Deputy Secretary, Jilin Deputy Secretary, Shanghai Vice Mayor, Hefei Chairman, Shanghai Women's Federation Director, Sichuan Foreign Affairs Office Deputy Commander, 2nd Artillery Corps Secretary, Hefei Vice Governor, Hebei	Vice Chairman, Hunan People's Political Conference Chairman, Yunnan CCP Discipline Inspection Commission Deputy Commander, PLA Air Force Commandant, Army Command Academy Director, Atmospheric Physics Institute, Chinese Academy of Sciences
PLA PLA PLA govt prov/govt	other govt PLA prov/CCP prov/CCP	prov/govt prov/CCP other other	prov/govt other prov/CCP prov/CCP prov/GCP other prov/govt PLA prov/GCP	prov/govt prov/CCP PLA PLA govt
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Qian Guoliang Qian Shaojun Qian Shugen Qiao Zonghuai Ren Tie	Sha Jiansun Shi Dazhen Song Keda Sun Jiazheng Sun Qi	Sun Tongchuan Sun Wensheng Wang Jialiu (f) Wang Luolin Wang Xuezhen	Wang Yuefeng Wang Zhiwu Wang Zhongyu Wu Bangguo Wu Yi (f) Xing Zhikang Xu Shiqun Yang Guoliang Yang Yongilang Ye Liansong	Yin Changmin (f) Yin Jun Yu Zhenwu Yuan Jun Zeng Qingcun

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Minister, Light Industry	Deputy Commander, PLA Navy	Vice Mayor, Tlaniin	Deputy Procurator General	Commander, Guangzhou MR	Deputy General Manager, National Petrochemical Company	Vice Chief Engineer, Ministry of Aviation	Deputy Political Commissar Air Porce Belling MP	Deputy Secretary. Henan	Commander in PLA Navy	Vice Chairman. Nationalities Affairs Commission	Deputy Director, Yinhua, Hone Kene	Navy	Debuty Director. PLA General Locieties Description	Commander, unidentified group army	Vice Chairman. State Education Commission	Vice Chairman, State Economic Commission	Mayor, Guanezhou	Deputy Director, PLA General Logistics Department	Director, State Meteorological Bureau
govt	PLA	prov/govt	govt	PLA	other	govt	PLA	prov/CCP	PLA	govt	govt	. PLA	PLA	PLA	govt	govt	govt	PLA	govt
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Zeng Xianlin	Zhang Lianzhong	Zhang Lichang	Zhang Siqing	Zhang Wannlan	Zhang Wanxin	Zhang Yanzhong	Zhao Bingyao	Zhao D1 (f)	Zhao Guochen	Zhao Yannian	Zheng Hua	Zhou Shaoxun	Zhou Wenyuan	Zhou Yushu	Zhu Kaixuan	Zhu Rongji	Zhu Senlin	Zong Shunliu	Zou Jingmeng

An Pingsheng

Bat Jinan

Xing Yanzi (f) Zhang Shuguang Xiang Shouzhi Yan Dongsheng Yang Bo Yang Chengwu Zhang Zaiwang Zhao Xingyuan Zhou Shizhong Yin Changmin You Taizhong Zhang Jingfu **Zhao Haifeng** Zhao Zhijian Zhou Jiannan X1 Zhongxun Yin Fatang Yu Mingtao Kiang Nan Yang Dezhi Xu Shaofu Yao Guang Zhu Houze Yin Yuan Shang Ze Yu Qiuli Zhou Hui Yang D1 Ye Fei Vang Guangzhong Luo Qingchang Riang Xiaochu Wang Chenghan Hang Chonglun Hang Guangyu Wang Quanguo Xiannian Ma Xingyuan fo Wenxlang Shen Yinluo Han Halfeng Rao Xingli Jang Kewen Senmao Peng Zhen L1 Yaowen Qin Chuan Wang Fang Nang Meng Xuezhi Su Yiran Mu Qing Lt Xipu Li Xu'e Liu Lin Su Gang fang Ke Wan Da

Nu Quanqing

Huang Zhizhen

Huang Huang

Jiang Yonghui

L1 Chang an

Li Dongye

Kang Shien

Jiao Linyi

Gao Yangwen

He Jinheng

Gu Mu

iu Qiaomu

Hu Hong

Hu Sheng

Fu Kuiqing

Fang Y1

Deng Xiaoping

Deng Liqun

Chen Renhong

Chi Biqing

Chen Yun

Cul Yuell

Jai Suli

Chen Pixian

Chen Lie

Chen Puru

Chen Fuhan

Chen Bin

Basang

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Table 3. STATUS OF FULL AND ALTERNATE MEMBERS OF THE 13th CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Status	<u>Full</u>	<u>z</u>	Alternate	<u>z</u>	Total	<u>z</u> _
Returned	114	65.1	51	46.4	165	57.9
Promoted	22	12.6	0	0	22	7.7
Demoted	0	0	3	2.7	3	1.1
New	<u>39</u>	22.3	_56	50.9	95	33.3
TOTAL	175	100.0	110	100.0	285	100.0

Table 4. CCP 13th CENTRAL COMMITTEE FULL MEMBERS BY AGE

Age	No.	
Over 80	1	0.6
70-79	9	5.1
60-69	53	30.3
50-59	97	55.4
Under 50	15	8.6

Table 5. CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE FULL MEMBERS BY AFFILIATION 12th and 13th Central Committees

Affiliation	Before Special C No.	_	After Special Co No.		After Congress No.	
Party	25	12	22	10	17	10
Government	56	27	57	27	55	31
Provincial	75	36	85	40	67	38
Military	46	22	33	16	29	1.7
Other or na	. 8	4	13	6	7	4

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Table 6. CATEGORY OF FULL AND ALTERNATE MEMBERS OF THE 13th CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Category	Full	<u>z</u>	Alternate		<u>Total</u>	<u> %</u>
Central party	17	9.7	2	1.8	. 19	6.7
Central government	55	31.4	. 28	25.5	83	29.1
Provincial and below	67 <u>1</u> /	38.3	47	42.7	114	40.0
party	40	22.9	30 ·	27.3	· 70	24.6
government	24	13.7	17	15.5	41	14.4
local	9	5.1	11	10.0	20	7.0
Military	29	16.6	23 <u>2</u> /	20.0	52	18.2
central	10	5.7	9	8.1	19	6.7
regional	19	10.9	1.3	11.8	32	11.2
line/staff	19	10.9	. 20	18.2	39.	13.7
political	10	5.7	. 2	1.8	12 .	4.2
Other	7	4.0	10	9.1	17	6.0

^{1/} Three officials hold both the top party and the top government job and hence were not counted under either category: Jiang Zemin in Shanghai, Li Ruihuan in Tianjin, and Xue Ju in Zhejiang.

 $[\]underline{2}$ / One PLA officer is unidentified by position.

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Table 7. CENTRAL ADVISORY COMMISSION, NOVEMBER 1987

* = on previous commission

Chalrman

Chen Yun

Vice Chairmen

*Bo Yibo

*Song Rengiong

Standing Committee Members

*Bo Yibo
Chen Pixian
*Chen Xilian
Chen Yun
*Cheng Zihua
*Duan Junyi
*Geng Biao
Hu Qiaomu
*Huang Zhen
*Ji Pengfei
*Jiang Hua
*Kang Shi'en
*Li Desheng

*Li Yimang
*Liu Lantao
*Lu Dingyi
*Song Renqiong
*Song Shilun
*Wang Ping
*Wang Shoudao
*Wu Xiuquan
*Xiao Ke
Yang Dezhi
Yu Qiuli
Zhang Aiping
-Zhang Jingfu

Members

An Pingsheng An Zhiwen *Bai Dongcai *Bai Rubing *Bo Yibo *Cao Lihuai *Cao Ying *Chang Lifu Chen Bin *Chen Guodong Chen Lei Chen Pixian Chen Puru Chen Renhong *Chen Weida *Chen Xilian *Chen Yeping Chen Yun *Cheng Shicai

*Cheng Zihua ·

Chi Biqing Cui Yueli Dai Suli Deng Liqun *Du Ping *Du Runsheng *Du Xingyuan *Du Yide *Duan Junyi *Fang Qiang *Feng Jixin *Feng Wenbin *Fu Chongbi *Gao Houliang *Gao Yang *Geng Biao *Gu Zhuoxin *Guo Feng *Guo Hongtao *Han Nianlong

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*Liu Zhen

*Liu Zhijian *Liu Zhuanlian *Lu Dadong Lu Dong *Lu Dingyi *Luo Guibo Luo Qingchang *Luo Yuchuan *Ma Guorui Ma Xingyuan *Mei Yi Mu Qing *Nie Fengzhi *Ouyang Shan *Peng Deqing *Peng Jiaqing *Qian Xinzhong Qiang Xiaochu Qiao Xiaoguang Qin Yingji *Rao Shoukun *Ren Zhibin *Ren Zhongyi *Rong Gaotang *Song Li *Song Rengiong *Song Shilun Su Yiran *Sun Daguang *Tan Qilong *Tan Shanhe *Tan Youlin *Tian Bao Tie Ying *Ting Mao Wan Haifeng Wang Chenghan *Wang Congwu Wang Daohan *Wang Dongxing Wang Fang *Wang Feng Wang Heshou *Wang Lei Wang Lin *Wang Liusheng *Wang Ping *Wang Qian *Wang Shitai *Wang Shoudao

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- XIX -

*Wang Yiping *Wang Youping *Wang Zigang Wei Chunshu *Wen Minsheng *Wu De *Wu Fushan *Wu Heng *Wu Xiuquan *Xia Shihou Xiang Nan Xiang Shouzhi *Xiao Ke *Xiao Quanfu *Xiao Wangdong *Xie Zhenhua *Xu Jiatun Xu Xin *Yan Dakai Yan Zheng Yang Dezhi *Yang Xiushan Yang Yichen *Yang Wentao You Taizhong *Yu Guangyuan Yu Mingtao Yu Qiuli Yuan Baohua

*Yuan Shengping *Zeng Sheng *Zeng Zhi (f) Zhang Aiping *Zhang Bangying *Zhang Caiqian *Zhang Ce *Zhang Dazhi *Zhang Guangnian Zhang Jingfu Zhang Shuguang *Zhang Tingfa *Zhang Xiushan *Zhang Zhen *Zhang Zhixiu *Zhao Cangbi *Zhao Jianmin *Zhao Wucheng *Zhao Xinchu *Zheng Tianxiang *Zheng Weishan *Zhong Ziyun Zhou Hui Zhou Jiannan *Zhou Lin *Zhou Renjie Zhou Shizhong Zhou Zijian *Zhu Muzhi

Dropped From Central Advisory Commission

Chen Zaidao Deng Xiaoping Du Yide Gao Kelin Guo Linxiang Guo Shushen Hong Xuezhi Huang Huoqing Kong Yuan Li Jianzhen Li Jukui Li Qiang Li Xuefeng Li Zhimin Liu Shunyuan Lu Zhengcao

Ping Jiesan

Rao Bin Shu Tong Song Kanfu Wang Xinting Wang Zhen Wei Jinshui Wu Xinyu Xia Zhengnong Xia Zhixu Yan Kuiyao Zeng San Zhang Jiafu Zhang Pinghua Zhang Yun Zhao Lin Zhao Shouyi Zhou Yimin

Zhu Yunqian

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Table 8. CENTRAL DISCIPLINE INSPECTION COMMISSION, NOVEMBER 1987

* = on previous committee

Secretary

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Wang Yan
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Wen Zhengyi
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Wen Li
Wen Zhengyi
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Xiao Xuanjin
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Xu Qixiao

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